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In the Image of JFD: When President Kennedy warned Khrushchev that we are prepared to fight in Laos, observers in Washington remarked that JFK acted in the high tradition of JFD—our great late anti-appeasement Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

A parallel leaped to mind—the fall of 1958, when Secretary Dulles, in complete command of President Eisenhower's foreign policy, activated the 7th Fleet, sent the sidewinders into the China Sea and repulsed the provocations of the Red Chinese over Quemoy and Matsu. All this, while the liberal Democrats screamed "brinkmanship" and sought to scare the daylights out of the country. The upshot: as HUMAN EVENTS reported on October 20, 1958, Dulles won a "grand slam."

Last week, Republicans did not scream "brinkmanship," but praised President Kennedy for his firmness against Red provocation in Laos. Yet even as they extolled the inclination of JFK to don the mantle of JFD, privately these same Republicans noted a significant difference between the present situation and that in the fall of 1958.

Dulles won a grand slam; but he also refused to agree to any "neutralist" commission to preside over his victory, or any "two China" compromise with the Reds. He remained adamantly behind Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese regime—and the Red maneuvers forthwith subsided.

Today, even the strongest partisan supporters of President Kennedy (such as Chalmers Roberts of the liberal Washington *Post*) claim that the payoff may be US consent to a coalition government, including Red puppets—an ominous sign. If that comes off, JFK's present courageous image could conceivably blur into something radically unlike that of John Foster Dulles.

Along Diplomatic Row in Washington, other cautionary observations are in circulation. It is noted that, on the diplomatic plane, the "broker" in the back-stage maneuvers is Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Britain, whose prejudices are notoriously for appeasement in Asia. And when Macmillan held his unexpected conference with JFK at Key West last week, the wirephotos disclosed an historic figure seated beside the British Prime Minister and the American President. It was Charles E. "Chip" Bohlen, now key adviser on foreign affairs in the White House. The moving finger of history has written of Bohlen as the man who sat beside Franklin D. Roosevelt at the Yalta conference in 1945—FDR's architect of the disastrous sellout to Stalin on that occasion.

"Come On" to Business: Around Washington, particularly among tax lawyers (who are legion), belief that the President is really going to do anything about tax relief for business is fading rapidly. A number of times the new President has alluded, in somewhat vague terms, to an intention to grant what listeners interpreted as "accelerated depreciation." Now it is April, and nothing concrete has been sent down from the White House. On the contrary, some Democratic wheel horses in Congress not only put out nothing definitely favorable along this line, but even talk privately of reducing the depreciation allowance.

Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) includes accelerated depreciation allowance as one of three points of reform necessary to bring us out of the recession (see March 31 HUMAN EVENTS). Indeed, the Senator, in his debate with Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, told the latter that if the Administration really wants to put people back to work as soon as possible, his prescription on depreciation should be enacted right away. Vast orders for machine tools and for renewing plants (particularly in steel) would spark a vigorous recovery.

This is all the more obvious as a study of the allowances granted industry in other major free world nations well shows. Barron's *financial weekly observed, March 27, that on equipment with a 15-year life, "US businessmen can write off 13% of the cost in the first service year as a deduction from taxable income, British and Japanese over 50%, Swedish and Italian over 30%, and Canadian and French over 20%. For the first three years, Americans can write off 35%, Britons and Swedes over 70%, Japanese and Italians over 60%, Canadians 54% and Frenchmen 47%." All these countries have been enjoying boom business and high employment.* Verb. sap.

The Administration must be well aware of this. Therefore, more and more in Washington, Kennedy's references to accelerated depreciation are being regarded as simply a "come on," a bait thrown to gullible businessmen to keep them quiet about their dislike for the inflationary welfare projects which the White House sends to Congress almost every day.

In the past week, Capitol Hill has seen a severe grilling (by the Senate Finance Committee) of a

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Kennedy appointee—Stanley S. Surrey, "Harvard Prof," named to the position of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of tax matters. It seems that Surrey doesn't want accelerated depreciation, and offers a "complex" alternative plan which is neither clear nor palatable to business. Apparently, the roadblock to real business revival is a Harvard professor.

TV Press Conferences: Perils of the Presidential press conference, as now conducted by JFK over live television, were illustrated in a session March 23 when the fast-talking Chief Executive twice made a misstatement about his minimum-wage proposal now before Congress. He expressed his inability to understand, he said, "how anybody could object to paying somebody who works in a business which makes over $1 million a year by 1963 $50 a week." The Kennedy bill, just narrowly defeated in the House but coming up soon before the possibly more favorable Senate, does not apply the proposed $1.25 hourly minimum to companies *making a profit* of a million dollars annually, but to companies *doing gross business* of that amount. There's a big difference—in fact, some companies doing a million dollars worth of business a year have been known to show no profit at all.

Many citizens would be expected to sympathize more with the wage earner in one case than in the other.

No charges have been made that the President deliberately made the misstatements to drum up public support for his plan—but, it is surmised, among men of the Kennedy wealth a million dollars may be talked about rather casually.

Budget Buster Bell: The Director of the Budget gave his views on the President's budget before the Joint Economic Committee last week and seemed almost to relish the multi-billion-dollar deficit Kennedy anticipates over the next two years. A Harvard Keynesian, David E. Bell—who, as HUMAN EVENTS reported on December 15, 1960, thinks a budget is for achieving "social ends, not simply sound dollars"—made the following points in his testimony:

- He stressed that "it would be in serious error of public policy as well as false economy" to reject Federal programs on the ground that "we cannot afford them."

- *Spending programs, said Bell, are needed not necessarily for welfare purposes but for achieving "economic growth" as well.*

- A "balanced budget," Bell indicated, might only aggravate unemployment conditions.

- *He said it was all right for the Kennedy Administration to run up a deficit, because foreign banks would view as "unsound" any Federal expenditure drop in a "slump" year.*

It appears that Bell will not be restrained by the law requiring the Budget Director to make reports to the President "with a view of securing greater economy and efficiency in the conduct of public service."

Appeasement Rundown: The headlines shout that both President Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson are taking a tough stand in dealing with the Russians. But there are growing indications that the Administration is dealing in some significant—if unspectacular—instances of appeasement.

Milton M. Lory, president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, has written President Kennedy protesting three such appeasement gestures. They are:

(1) No more interception of Red propaganda received here by mail from abroad. Lory noted that the White House statement on the matter said that "the program serves no useful intelligence function at the present time." Lory said that "this statement misconceives the entire purpose of the program and the law which requires the interception of Communist propaganda which is not labeled in accordance with the requirements of the Foreign Agents Registration Act . . . . The theory of the law is the same as that underlying the food and drug laws which require labeling of poisons . . . . By deliberate failure to enforce this law, [the Administration is] in effect now opening the floodgates."

(2) Fingerprinting of aliens. "The excuse given in the press for the proposal to do away with fingerprinting of aliens," said Lory, "is that 'Soviet correspondents in New York and Washington complained upon finding that they had to be fingerprinted to get new visas.' If the enforcement of our security measures is dependent upon the attitude of the very people against whom this country is attempting to protect itself—the Communist agents—then God help this nation."

(3) Lifting the ban on products of Soviet forced labor, such as Russian crabmeat. "Can any informed person today," asked Lory—"after mountains of evidence—deny that the Soviet empire is a police state and that the goods produced are in truth the products of forced labor? The lifting of this ban . . . will enable the Communists to score another propaganda victory. They can now say to the world: 'See, even the United States now recognizes that we are not a police state.' "

It is also noted that a Soviet UN aide, along with a German accomplice, was arrested on spy charges in Chicago recently—but was released after the Administration intervened in his behalf.

"Independent" Agencies: Evidence grows that the Administration is seeking to gain what the *Wall Street Journal* calls "unprecedented White House power" over the independent regulatory agencies, which regulate a broad segment of American industry. Republicans are showing a twofold bitterness in this matter because of Democratic charges along these lines during Eisenhower's Administration.

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Last December James M. Landis, now a special assistant to the President, sent Kennedy a plan to put these business monitoring agencies—which are responsible to Congress—under close Executive control. Through a series of directives, President Kennedy has put this plan into effect. This Kennedy power grab was recently attacked by Republicans on the House floor. William H. Avery (R.-Kans.) called it "the boldest trespass upon the independence of the regulatory agencies that has become a matter of record since the Interstate Commerce Commission was authorized in 1887."

William L. Springer (R.-Ill.) called it an unprecedented attempt "to seize upon powers of those regulatory agencies and influence them with White House influence."

But it was Avery who came back with the most telling thrust at the Administration. He noted that Ike's "Assistant President," Sherman Adams, was damned by Democrats "because he made a status inquiry on one case before one agency. Now we have the Executive not inquiring, but directing, if you please, every agency to file . . . a report on what they have done in the month preceding and what they expect to do in the month to follow."

Budget Message: After a close examination of the President's budget, Congressman John Taber (R.-N.Y.), the ranking minority member of the House Appropriations Committee, has charged the Administration with planning to boost non-defense expenditures recommended by Eisenhower for fiscal 1962 by at least $7.5 billion. The Congressman's carefully itemized account of the increases, which was inserted in the March 28 *Congressional Record*, makes Kennedy's statement that no budgetary deficits would be due to "non-defense" expenditures appear ridiculous.

Moreover, Taber says the hike in the defense budget means the nation will plunge another "$7.5-$10 billion" in debt by the end of next year.

Taber said he "personally" had been unable to vote for any substantial increases in the "respective expenditures." They would "increase the public debt and the government's operating deficit by at least $10 billion for the fiscal year 1962 and at least unbalance the budget for this fiscal year 1961, unless increased taxes are provided for some of these costs."

Capitol Camera: It is hoped that the Kennedy Administration will close up a loophole through which upwards of $100 million a year of contraband has been leaking into the US since the end of the war. Informed circles on the Hill say that returning US diplomatic personnel—flashing the prestige of diplomatic passports—bring back to the homeland just about that much jewelry, *objets d'art* and other articles annually, without paying customs duties. That's illegal, of course, but customs officials, fearing reprisals from "high places," wave the diplomats by the barrier without inspection.

• *Hyman Bookbinder, one of the AFL-CIO's top lobbyists, will soon become a special assistant to Secretary of Commerce Hodges. The Eisenhower Administration hired no labor or business lobbyists to work in the Commerce Department, according to a Department spokesman.*

• Liberal columnists are making a concerted attempt to get Kennedy to hire defeated Oregon "Peace" Congressman Charles O. Porter for a Latin American post. Porter a few months ago debated Adolf A. Berle, Kennedy's Latin American expert, and claimed the US should give up Guantanamo Naval Base in Cuba.

• *Congressman William Jennings Bryan Dorn (D.-S.C.) was roundly applauded after a recent dinner speech in which he called for fewer Federal aid programs and a great reliance on the "true American system" of self-help and individual initiative. His listeners? Members of the Virginia Association for (and of) the Blind—people who insist on making their own way regardless of their handicap.*

• Eugene Burdick, author of *The Ugly American*, a novel exposing the ill-will created by Americans in the foreign aid program, is reportedly against Kennedy's Peace Corps. Burdick is said to favor small private projects, operating without fanfare and publicity.

Public Power Rebuked: Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) last week lambasted the policies of Interior Secretary Stewart Udall. In a Senate speech, the senior Republican Senator said that the contention that Americans want federally-controlled electric energy is a "myth."

The New Hampshire statesman pointed out that, of the 17 states in which the Democrats attempted to make public power an issue last year, they carried only three—"for reasons far removed from public power." Bridges noted that "the theory and practice of state ownership of the means of production, keystone of the doctrine of socialism, is in full retreat throughout the free world." He said that in Germany, the Prussian Electric Company, known as the German version of the Tennessee Valley Authority, is being denationalized and is being sold to private shareholders. But, Bridges observed, the Kennedy Administration does not seem to be heeding this lesson. Kennedy has urged that the principle of TVA be exported abroad.

Bridges cited a *Saturday Evening Post* editorial which lauded Germany's renewed faith in private enterprise and scored the Administration's proposal to sell the TVA ideal abroad. Said the editorial: ". . . the message which one might expect an American government to send abroad is the fact that the

SUMNER GERARD, former president of the Committee for Constitutional Government: "The batting average of HUMAN EVENTS is high. This I learned in reading back numbers of your paper in the course of cleaning out an accumulation of old letters, records, etc. Over the years you hit the mark more times than not."

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most significant American economic progress, including that in the electric-power industry, has been made by private corporations and individuals."

Goldwater on John Birch: Senator Goldwater, interviewed by the press in Los Angeles last week, was asked what he thought of the John Birch Society, which is now receiving some negative publicity.

Saying he is not a member of the organization, Goldwater replied: "I don't know much about the Society. They are anti-Communist and I don't see how we can be against that. A lot of people in my home town [Phoenix], both Democrats and Republicans, have been attracted to it, and I am impressed by the type of people in it. They are the kind we need in politics."

As reported by the Associated Press in a March 29 dispatch, newsmen asked Goldwater these questions:

Does he agree with the Society that this republic is not a fit form of government with which to fight communism? "I don't agree," Goldwater replied.

Does he, like the Society, believe that former President Eisenhower was a tool of the Communists? "I certainly don't."

Does he agree with the Society that Chief Justice Earl Warren should be impeached? "No, I don't."

Does he agree with the Society's contentions that the Communists have influenced some decisions of the Supreme Court? "I do not." Elaborating, Goldwater said: "I will admit that some of the recent Supreme Court decisions seemed favorable to the Communists."

Two questions asked by the newsmen contained inaccurate assumptions. The Society has never issued a statement that former President Eisenhower was a tool of the Communists. Such a remark was made by Robert Welch, the founder, in a confidential memo to a few of his friends one year before the Society was formed, but that statement never became a part of the Society's statement of beliefs.

The question asserting that the Society believes that "this republic is not a fit form of government with which to fight communism" is a flagrant distortion of one of the Society's slogans: "This is not a Democracy, but a Republic. Let's keep it so."

Education: While eyes are turned on Kennedy's plans for Federal aid to primary and secondary schools, an Administration-backed bill providing $2.4 billion (including $1.5 billion in loans) in Federal aid for college students and the construction of college classrooms is now being quietly pushed through the House and Senate. The bill was introduced as H. R. 5266 in the House by Mrs. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) and as S. 1241 by Lister Hill (D.-Ala.) in the Senate.

The US Chamber of Commerce, however, attempted to slow down the Federal-aid-to-colleges drive last week. In a letter to the Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, the Chamber maintained there was no national shortage of college classrooms and that the Administration bill would lodge "virtually dictatorial" powers with the Commissioner of Education in Washington.

The bill, continued the Chamber, gives the Commissioner power "to regulate and control methods of selection of individuals to receive scholarships." Under the House version of the bill, the Commissioner could grant loans only after the states had given him "reasonable" assurance that the individuals would pursue degrees. The states would also be required to prove the individuals' "need" for scholarships; and only certain types of scholarships would be deemed suitable.

And it would be up to the Commissioner—for no standards have been laid down—to define what a "reasonable" assurance and a "need" are.

Murrow's Harvest: United States Information Agency chief Edward R. Murrow has reaped two reactions from his television "documentary" on migratory workers, *Harvest of Shame*, made and narrated by Murrow when he was with the Columbia Broadcasting System. He has received abuse from his liberal allies, and has given an uncalled-for black eye to the United States.

Although Murrow has orated for years about the necessity for freedom of information, as USIA chief he recently tried, but failed, to prevent the showing of his CBS TV film by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Murrow claimed the film had been meant only for domestic consumption. This triggered a stream of wrath from such ultra-liberal newspapers as the New York *Post* and the Washington *Post* which claimed he was trying to censor the news. (Murrow, in order to appease his liberal friends, later gave an abject apology for his action, declaring he had been "foolish.")

Many on Capitol Hill feel that Murrow acted correctly in trying to prevent the showing of the film. To display it, they felt, would actually be a misrepresentation of the truth. Spessard L. Holland (D.-Fla.) pointed out from the Senate floor last week that *Harvest* contained major inaccuracies.

There are, said Holland, only 400,000 domestic migratory workers, not three million as the film indicates. While the film claims there are no laws to protect migratory workers, Holland says that Congress passed such legislation in 1956. The Floridian pointed out several more gross inaccuracies in the Murrow film.

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Did Biased Reporters Cost Nixon the Election?

By WILLARD EDWARDS
Capitol Hill correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*

THIS IS A REPORT on some research since the election last November on a subject which has disturbed the newspaper world, although it has gained very little public notice.

To put the question simply—did a substantial portion of the American press sabotage Vice President Nixon in the Presidential campaign, thereby cheating the American public of its right to a fair and unbiased report of the Republican candidate's words and activities, and thereby helping him to lose the election?

I covered the Nixon campaign from the time of his nomination at Chicago in late July to election day, November 8. I heard every Nixon speech—hundreds of them—was present at all press conferences and traveled a total of 64,000 miles including the flights to Alaska and Hawaii.

After I returned to Washington November 9 and had a couple of days rest I re-entered the civilized world and joined in the great Washington sport of explaining the election outcome.

I attended a number of gatherings of conservatives and here I first ran up against the complaint that Nixon had lost the election because he conducted a me-too campaign. He hadn't hit Kennedy hard enough. There were, of course, other reasons discussed but this one complaint has grown in volume until it has reached the peak of alleging that Nixon threw away a sure victory, just like Dewey in 1948, through the soft and ineffectual nature of his campaign.

I was confounded by the complaints of Nixon's me-tooism. In arguments on the point, I would cite from speeches he made during the campaign.

Here are some of the things he called his opponent:

Dangerously irresponsible, reckless, utterly unfit to assume the duties of a President.

He lashed Kennedy for downgrading the United States and caught him in falsehoods. He accused him of aiding Communist propagandists. He called him a bare-faced liar, dangerous and dead wrong, a rash, impulsive, immature, inexperienced young man who wanted to use the White House for job-training. He said repeatedly—and these are his exact words—that Kennedy stood for wild spending, higher taxes, higher prices, seizure of industry and raiding of the Treasury.

He also called Kennedy an ignoramus, a divider of America, one of Khrushchev's most helpful aids.

On the domestic side, he said that Kennedy's program would bring about ruinous inflation. He jabbed at Kennedy's wealth and charged him with attempting to buy the people's votes with their money—not his.

But when I mentioned these things, people looked at me blankly. "When did Nixon make these remarks?" they asked. They hadn't read them in the newspapers.

So I decided to do a little research and discover just what they had been reading. Since these were residents of Washington, D. C., I concentrated on the newspapers which are read in the Capital.

The task was enormous. A one-man survey could do little more than make a spot-check. And yet, the results were significant. I began to understand why some supporters of Nixon grew indifferent as the campaign progressed.

First, let me make you acquainted with the atmosphere among the newspaper followers of the Republican candidate. Ninety per cent of this press corps, which ranged between 50 and 100 at various periods in the campaign, were all-out supporters of Kennedy. They were not only opposed to Nixon, they were outspoken in their hatred and contempt of him.

THIS ATTITUDE was not concealed. It was loud and open. When Nixon was making a speech, there was a constant murmur of ridicule from many in the press rows just beneath the platform. It was an extraordinary hostility and I can recall no precedent for it in all the campaigns I have covered.

Their adulation of Kennedy was just as open. Most of them shifted back and forth between Nixon and Kennedy during the campaign. They regarded service with Kennedy as a lover regards a honeymoon and assignment to Nixon as a penalty—an enforced association with a discreditable character.

I have not drawn too strong a picture and I think the condition can best be described by telling an incident which occurred during Nixon's whistle-stop tour in mid-October. On October 26, as the train was pulling out of Cincinnati, a stranger appeared in the press car where some 50 newsmen were present.

The man was introduced as Mario G. Remo, a New York Department store executive, who had been serving as finance chairman of the Democratic National Committee's Nationalities division.

Mr. Remo was a man of high standing in Democratic party councils in New York City and his post was a very important one in the campaign.

He had decided to quit his job and switch over to Nixon. Leonard Hall, the Republican campaign chairman, regarded his decision as so important that he had asked Remo to join the Nixon train and explain his position to the big press group, thereby gaining the maximum publicity for what appeared to be a big political break for Nixon.

This article is the transcript of an address made by Willard Edwards at the HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference in Washington on January 6.

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There was silence and a growing chill in the press car as Remo stated his reasons for resigning his Democratic post. He said he was alarmed about Kennedy's foreign policy and convinced that Kennedy, as President, would involve the United States in war within two years.

At this point one or two reporters raised a yell of "turncoat." There was a chorus of agreement and backs were turned on Remo. Although it was a good story, especially for New York newspapermen, only the two wire service reporters and a few others took notes and filed dispatches.

Mr. Remo was understandably puzzled. He had sacrificed his Democratic political career for patriotic reasons. He was quitting a winner for a loser because, by that time, it was evident to all that Kennedy was going to capture the New York metropolitan area where Remo made his home.

He now found himself treated as a cowardly deserter, a turncoat, a renegade, by the great majority of correspondents assigned to cover the Republican candidate.

I think I can assure you that if one of Nixon's top assistants had shown up on the Kennedy train to announce a switch of allegiance, he would have been greeted like the prodigal son and thousands of words in press dispatches would have been filed. Do you know where the Remo story showed up in a leading New York paper? On page 27—at the bottom—two paragraphs!

HERE'S ANOTHER STORY to give you the flavor of the Nixon press corps. Towards the end of the campaign, a young reporter for a large eastern newspaper joined up. Older correspondents had covered Nixon to this point. Apparently the young man's editor had been a little dubious about his political faith and had made a checkup.

"He called up my wife the night before I left," the young man told his friends, "and he said he was a little worried that I might be *brainwashed* by Nixon. He asked her how I felt about the candidates."

Then, very proudly, "When she got through telling him about my feelings for Kennedy, he didn't have any more doubt about me."

This was regarded by his colleagues as a pretty funny story. None of them found it strange that an editor should regard an assignment to cover the Republican candidate somewhat like a mission into an enemy camp where his loyalty might be undermined. I feel pretty sure that this young reporter sent no stories on the Nixon campaign which might savor, in any manner, of "brainwashing" by Nixon. This state of affairs became so scandalous that just before the election, *Editor and Publisher*, a trade journal for the newspaper business, rather uneasily brought it out into the open. The article opened with a quotation from a story I had written which stated that most of the newspapermen covering Nixon were staging a premature victory celebration for Kennedy, the man they favored.

Then *Editor and Publisher* presented the findings of its own representatives. It carried interviews with a number of reporters. Here are some quotes:

"If the publishers only knew how emotionally involved some of their reporters are for Kennedy, there'd be some real pink-slipping going on."

This was a pertinent observation. A survey had shown that Nixon had the editorial support of more than 57.7 per cent of the nation's daily newspapers while Kennedy was supported by 16 per cent. The remainder proclaimed themselves uncommitted.

It seems obvious that some newspapers, which indorsed Nixon, were publishing dispatches on his campaign written by reporters who regarded his possible election as a national calamity.

Here are what some other reporters said when interviewed by the trade journal:

"I've already cast my absentee ballot for Kennedy but I don't like the way the press covering Nixon reacted while watching the television debates. They kept saying things like 'give it to him, Jack.' I figure every guy deserves a fair shake."

Another: "The Democrats are relaxed and carefree and almost haphazard. When I was with Nixon I felt an oppressive suspicion of the press. They think newsmen are out to get Nixon and they may be right."

After the election was over, the New York *Daily News* brought the whole affair into the open with an editorial which created a stir in the newspaper world. It flatly stated that some reporters covering Nixon "sabotaged" Nixon and his cause with every dirty-pool device known to dirty-pool newspaper people—of whom, unhappily, there are still too many.

"They slanted their dispatches against the Republican candidate. They left out incidents and sidelights which might have been helpful to him. Editors shirked their duty by permitting these slanted, distorted, biased or downright false statements to be published as allegedly honest and factual news."

The editorial continued:

"The whole disgraceful performance was bad journalism, bad ethics and a breaking of faith with the readers of the newspapers we are talking about."

These were harsh words but I have yet to hear of any indignant rejoinder. When Sigma Delta Chi, professional journalistic society, staged its annual convention in New York City a few days later, it called upon Herbert Klein and Pierre Salinger, press secretaries for Nixon and Kennedy, to discuss the question of press fairness in the campaign.

This didn't disclose much. Klein suggested only that the society investigate charges that political reporters had been unfair to Nixon. He said the Vice President had received many complaints accusing newspapers, radio and television of biased coverage.

Salinger agreed that the majority of reporters covering the candidates apparently decided, as he put it, that Kennedy was the better candidate. He remarked, with gratification, that the great majority of newspapers were very fair to Kennedy—a decided understatement in my opinion.

Thus, there is no dispute that most of the correspondents were supporters of Kennedy. You will find no newspapermen, who had anything to do with

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the campaign, who will deny it. In fact, there has been a great deal of conversation—all private of course, in which misgivings were expressed and even a small amount of remorse in some instances. Nobody, however, seems ready to repent in public.

SO NOW we come to the heart of the matter. Did some of these correspondents permit their partisanship to tinge their accounts of the Nixon campaign? Did their fierce conviction of Kennedy's superiority cause them to subordinate, even unconsciously, the Vice President's most telling attacks on their idol? Did their contempt and scorn for Nixon warp their news judgment so that they played up trivia and neglected major developments?

Well, even after 35 years in the business, I'm pretty naive about my fellow reporters. I'm also proud of my profession. If asked these questions during the campaign, I would have ridiculed the suggestion that these colleagues, almost all skilled veterans, did not keep in separate compartments their private views and their judgment of news values when they sat down to their typewriters.

I did not, of course, know what they were writing at that time. In the whirlwind of a campaign, you're lucky if you can keep up with what your own newspaper is printing. Now and then I picked up a newspaper which gave me an uneasy feeling. I saw leads on Nixon speeches which did not seem justified.

But it was only after I decided to do some research on selected newspapers that I realized what the New York *Daily News* was talking about when it charged sabotage and dirty-pool tactics.

I must emphasize again that this research was limited to a spot-check of several newspapers which are widely read in Washington. A survey of this nature is no one-man job. An exhaustive investigation would require a big staff, well-financed, of the strictest impartiality, and with at least six months to do the job.

But my findings force me to this conclusion: There is at least a *prima facie* case for the charge that animosity for Nixon, concededly felt by most of the newspapermen covering him, did creep into dispatches. In an election as close as this one, the possibility certainly arises that this type of reporting may have affected the final result.

What did this research disclose? It revealed that a substantial portion of the newspaper reading public did not get what it was entitled to get—a full and fair account of the Vice President's words and actions in his campaign for the Presidency.

Time permits only a couple of samples here but I assure you they are typical. Let me describe to you how a major Nixon campaign speech in the very first week of his campaign in September was treated in one of our greatest metropolitan dailies.

On September 15, Nixon delivered a speech in St. Louis before the International Association of Machinists. The audience was hostile but he boldly accused Kennedy of submission to the dictates of organized labor and he just as boldly proclaimed his own independence of pressure from any group.

He quoted from a speech made by Kennedy in Detroit a few days earlier, describing Kennedy as having pledged himself to be for whatever labor was for, and against whatever labor was against. That kind of promising, he said, wasn't good for labor or America. A President ought not to be 100 per cent for any group—labor, farm or business—and ought not to set one group against another. For himself, he would play to no group, no class, no section.

It was a bold talk in the camp of the enemy. This was the Nixon whom a great many Americans had come to admire since his visit to Russia in 1959—the man who poked his finger into Khrushchev's paunch and told him he didn't know everything. Here was a tough-talking candidate, jabbing his opponent in one of his softest spots, and it certainly could not be described as a me-too speech.

How was the speech covered in the great newspaper to which I am referring? A first reading of its bulky columns seemed to indicate that the speech hadn't been reported at all.

True, there was a two-column story from St. Louis which referred to the speech but didn't quote from it. Instead, it carried about 1,000 words of quotes from the labor leaders who had heard it and described the scorn they felt.

This story led with the news that the machinists union, after listening to Nixon, had voted overwhelmingly to indorse Kennedy. Then followed the quotations from labor leaders. They agreed that Nixon had "a smooth delivery" but "the very adroitness with which Mr. Nixon met their hostility had reinforced their feeling that he was still a 'tricky Dick' and that both the country and labor would suffer if he won in November."

Some readers, at least, must have wanted to read the speech for themselves and thus savor its "tricky Dick" qualities.

To do this, they would have had to engage in a real hunt. They would finally have discovered, as I did, that there *was* a report on Nixon's St. Louis speech in that issue. It wasn't very long—about 400 words and paraphrased—and it was buried near the bottom of another story on page 20 telling of another speech made by Nixon in Roanoke, Va.

So, if you wanted to read what Nixon actually said in St. Louis, you had to read 500 words about the Roanoke speech, then you came upon this notation: Nixon spoke earlier in St. Louis.

The writer seized upon a statement Nixon had made at the very end of his labor speech—a polite assertion that, if elected, he would never close the doors of the White House to any group representative of a great segment of the American people.

"The Vice President promised that he would always have the door of the White House open to labor whether it supported him or not,"—that was the lead.

Nixon's sharp jab at Kennedy's Detroit speech emerged in translation this way: *"By implication,* he (Nixon) suggested that Senator Kennedy had abandoned the interests of 'all the people' when he said in his Labor Day speech in Detroit . . . ."

Nowhere in this brief account, even entombed as it was where very few readers would find it, was there a suggestion that the Republican candidate for President had made a major statement of his views on the pressures of organized labor and the

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vulnerability of Kennedy to such pressures. Nowhere was a hint of its toughness and forcefulness.

In fact, some of the labor delegates were themselves impressed. Sitting in the press section, I heard one delegate say to another rather grudgingly: "This guy talks straight, doesn't he?"

Instead of this, readers of this newspaper did indeed get an impression of me-tooism—Nixon would throw the White House open to labor, whether it supported him or not.

Or—you could take your choice—he was still "tricky Dick."

I found this pattern developed in a number of instances. Whenever Nixon intensified his attacks on Kennedy, he promptly became the "old Nixon" with the ugly connotations of that term built up over the years—the ruthless character assassin who had incurred the anger of Harry Truman by his unprincipled attacks upon the Democratic party.

On another day, and in the very same newspaper, he would be depicted as exercising the "soft sell"—an equally repellent role in which he sought to ingratiate himself with voters by promoting the "image" of a lofty idealist. He was Uriah Heap one week and bloody Lord Jeffreys the next.

Here is another sample of the kind of reporting that dogged Nixon's footsteps during the campaign.

The Vice President had imposed upon himself a vow not to discuss the religious issue during the campaign. It was constantly pounded, of course, by the opposition. On October 24, the provocation was so great that press secretary Klein issued a statement which referred to a television broadcast by Bobby Kennedy, brother of the Democratic candidate.

Bobby had charged, among other things, that Republican headquarters in San Diego, California was "openly issuing anti-Catholic literature."

Klein said he had checked this report and secured denials not only from Republican officials but from the Democratic chairman of San Diego County. If there was "anti-Catholic" literature in San Diego, no one had seen it. Klein suggested that the younger Kennedy had made a false charge to exploit the religious issue. Continuance of such tactics, he stated, might force Nixon himself to take cognizance of them.

This is how Klein's mild statement was handled by the correspondent for a large midwest "liberal" newspaper:

"Vice President Richard M. Nixon has cleared the way for using the cruelest of all issues, religion, against Senator John F. Kennedy."

IN THE LONG STORY which followed, there was no mention of the denials by both Republican and Democratic leaders that anti-Catholic literature had been issued in San Diego.

But the story did say that the Vice President had revived memories of the "old Nixon" by "the ominous warning that he might open up the Pandora's box of religion."

I submit that the total effect of such journalism was to confirm Nixon's opponents in their conviction that he was a devious scoundrel and to convince many of his supporters that he was wavering back and forth in his campaign methods in an uncertain, indecisive manner. The net result was certainly not to win votes for him. In the opinion of some political authorities, it cost him thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of votes by producing an indifference or repugnance to him among many who would otherwise have voted for him.

These incidents are typical of a number discovered in what could only be a spot-check of some prominent newspapers. I can assure you they are not isolated instances.

Let me summarize:

First, the great majority of the newspapermen assigned to report the Nixon campaign were openly hostile to him and openly favored Kennedy.

Second, a spot-check of several newspapers disclosed evidence sufficient to raise a presumption that some of this animosity crept into dispatches, to the detriment of Nixon's candidacy.

Third, the case seems strong enough, at least, to be submitted to a jury—in this case, a research organization, of unquestioned standing and impartiality, with sufficient staff and funds to conduct an exhaustive survey.

Finally, the press itself should take the lead in providing such a survey.

Many reasons have been advanced for Nixon's loss to Kennedy by a small fraction of one per cent. He faced a big Democratic superiority. He was opposed by big-city political machines who used the customary fraudulent methods to roll up tremendous majorities against him.

Some Republican leaders have opined that he should have hit harder. His performance during the television shows has been criticized. The factor of the religious issue in the campaign awaits definitive analysis.

If there was still another obstacle to his candidacy —slanted reporting which did not fully and fairly acquaint a portion of the voting public with his words and actions during the campaign—that condition demands exposure.

The people are entitled to it. The press itself is most vitally concerned. It faces an evil which threatens its honor and its proud estate.

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--- COMMENTARY ---

Experience teaches us to be most on guard to protect liberty when the government's purposes are beneficent.

—Justice Louis D. Brandeis

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Facts About Steel

By Raymond Moley

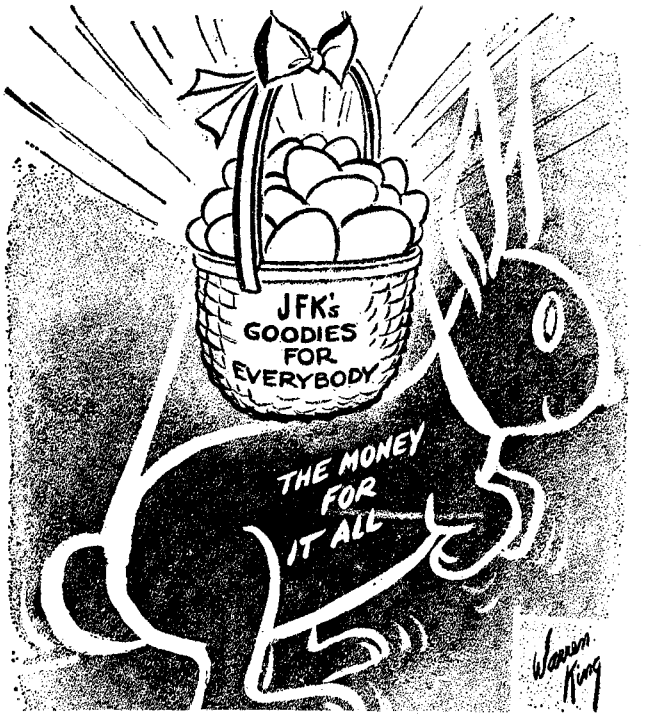
During the 1960 campaign for the Presidency, much was made of the fact that the steel industry was operating at one-half its capacity. The implication was that this meant a depressed economy, unemployment, and general distress. But there is no more reason to draw such inferences from capacity figures than there is to blame the government for building so many ships for war that in peacetime some of them are put in mothballs. The extra capacity of the steel industry is a reserve to be used in a war or other crisis.

To use that capacity up to, say 80 or 85 per cent would be economically indefensible. When such a high point of production is reached, extra shifts are required, much overtime is necessary, and the normal or routine maintenance of the furnaces becomes extremely costly. Under normal conditions, a furnace can be shut down, allowed to cool, then rebricked. But when operations are at anything like full capacity, special contractors must be called in to tear out the interiors of furnaces while they are still glowing hot. Under trying conditions, they must work around the clock to get the old firebrick out and the new in. This is very costly.

The changing technology of the steel industry has resulted, at the beginning of this year, in a change in the reporting of production. Under the old method of reporting, the comparison was with the years 1947-1949. The reports used in political speeches in the campaign were based on that comparison. Now the production index for comparison will be the years 1957-1959.

There are sound and wholly nonpolitical reasons for this change. As the years passed between 1947-1949 and the present, there were great advances in technology. Thus, the comparative figures came to be more and more inaccurate. The actual production capacity now cannot be accurately computed by any authority. There are many kinds of furnaces and equipment and new methods of production, particularly in the use of oxygen. There has also been a considerable investment in plants to keep up with new methods of production. The old figures included many outdated plants which have been passed into obsolescence.

There are steelworkers who are unemployed. But in the greatest steel manufacturing center in the world—Chicago-Gary complex—the figures now show that overall employment is up, and unemployment is down. Later this year the Chicago-Gary area will increase production from 50 per cent to



60 per cent. This 10 per cent increase will absorb every out-of-work steel man.

But even at 50 per cent of capacity, production in that area in 1960 was greater than in 1958 and 1959, when the mills were running closer to capacity. What is more important in measuring activity in the steel industry is total tons produced, not the percentage of capacity utilized. With new technology, the industry's ability to produce more steel with less utilization of capacity becomes more and more pronounced.

That is something which should be kept in mind in all measurements of industrial production. Progress lies in producing more with less effort. Progress cannot be attained by some government device to use all the capacity of production all the time.

Back to the New Deal

The New Deal fixation of the New Frontier persists. Mr. Kennedy's farm plan takes you back to Mr. Roosevelt's first days, to N.R.A., N.I.R.A., A.A.A. and other "alphabet soup" complexities when we had the same sort of self-government by commodities and products Mr. Kennedy now proposes. It didn't work in the worst depression in history so there isn't much hope for it in the mild recession now passing.

—John Temple Graves

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Congressmen Boost Their Expense Allowances

By Walter Trohan

When members of Congress are confronted with their own inaction during any kind of crisis, their first instinct is to raise pay or allowances, preferably their own.

Several weeks ago the House, which had been marking time to the tune of the White House demands for action on the domestic and foreign fronts, voted to increase the payroll allowances of members' staffs. At the same time House Democratic Leader John W. McCormack gave a glimpse into the near future by asserting members should vote themselves a pay raise from $22,500 to $25,000 a year.

This is what makes Congress nice work if you can get it. And it shows that members of Congress can display courage when it fills their own pockets. Since 1946 members of Congress have more than doubled their own pay. The going rate in 1946 was $10,000 a year for Senators and Representatives.

Furthermore, members of Congress have become adept at concealing what they do so that when they raise staff pay by a stated amount the raise is actually more than what it appears to be. For example, no one knows just how much the raise House members voted recently will cost. Estimates range from 1 to 3 million dollars a year.

This is because a staff member hired at a basic pay rate of $3,000 a year actually gets $6,781.24 under nine stages of pay increases granted by Congress to its own help. Another staffer whose base pay is $5,000 gets $10,794.95 a year and one whose base pay is $7,000 gets $14,345.47. So while the increase is a base of $3,000 it actually amounts to $6,781.24 which members of Congress can give to a new staffer, or divide up among other staff members providing none exceeds $14,345.47.

Readers may not understand this, but Congressmen do. Congressmen have been known to exact kickbacks from office employees, which although risky, help make ends meet along with allowances for home offices, which one member put on his front porch at a good rental.

In the crisis over peace which followed the end of World War II, Congress in 1945 voted itself a salary increase from $10,000 to $12,500, and a $2,500 tax-free expense account.

In the 1948 Presidential campaign, Harry S. Truman called Congress back to enact a program of legislation. Congress didn't act on the program but voted him a $25,000 pay raise and a $50,000 tax-free expense account. It also voted a $3,500 increase in members' allowances for clerk hire and office expenses.

In 1952, under public pressure against the $2,500 tax-free expense allowance, Congress voted to make the expense allowance taxable but provided members with a $3,000 tax deduction for living expenses in the capital. This action came in the crisis following Republican capture of the White House for the first time in 20 years.

On March 1, 1955, following another crisis produced by Republican loss of control of Congress in the 1954 congressional election, Congress voted itself almost a 50 per cent increase in pay to $22,500 a year. Congress did drop the $2,500 expense account allowance. At the same time Congress raised the pay of the Vice President and Speaker from $40,000 to $45,000, the chief justice from $25,500 to $35,500, justices from $25,000 to $35,000, appellate judges from $17,500 to $25,000, and District judges from $15,000 to $22,500.

Members of Congress still retain the $3,000 a year tax deduction for living expenses in Washington. Now they are seeking to get back the $2,500 expense account allowance they dropped in 1955 to get the pay raise to $22,500.

All these things help to explain why 71 Texans are fighting for the Senate seat left vacant by the election of Lyndon B. Johnson to the Vice Presidency.

One Question, Mr. Shriver

From the Washington Daily News

Peace Corps Director R. Sargent Shriver says his young volunteers will "serve the human needs of the people in the countries to which they are assigned."

But, he says, they "will not be asked to sell America or debate Communism or the cold war or the missile gap."

Why, in Heaven's name, not?

King—'Kennedy' Health Bill

The clinching argument that the King-"Kennedy" health program is the foot-in-the-door for socialized medicine was supplied recently, in a statement issued by Norman Thomas, long-time leader of the Socialist party.

The President's program this year and last year's Forand Bill "establish the vital precedent of paying medical costs through the Social Security system, which ultimately means that the process of gradual government intervention will also involve reform and nationalization of the medical industry in America," he said.

In a pamphlet used to open the drive entitled "The Case for Socialized Medicine," the Socialist party says, "We can do everything possible to encourage federal intervention in the financing of medical costs on a bit-by-bit basis. And, we can work to direct such intervention so that if it isn't socialized medicine proper, at least it *paves* the *way* for *socialized medicine.*"

Declaring that social security is a program of taxation, the pamphlet continues: "It's begging the question to attack such an approach to our medical needs on the grounds that it's *socialistic, as indeed it is.*"

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Advice to Parents

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer

"First, send your child to school every day. Everyone knows that even a good student 'gets behind' and may become lost and discouraged after repeated absences.

"Second, send him to school rested . . . The place for him on school nights is at home, and 'early to bed.'

"Third, send him to school disciplined. By this I do not mean beaten or cowed or afraid to speak. But I do mean he should understand and obey such simple language as 'Please sit down and be quiet for a little.'"

That was the windup of a wise speech by Charlton Myers, a former juvenile court judge now president of the Ohio State Board of Education.

Myers laid it on the line:

"We cannot afford the undisciplined child today . . . Study halls should not be race tracks. In this area parents alone can effectively operate.

"Unfortunately we are passing through a period in which many parents who should know better and who want to be 'good to their children' forget their moral duty to rear their offspring and confuse the gift of a motor scooter with the gift of good home training.

"We lose teachers regularly who finally tire of having their nerves frayed by the constant confusion by students who should have come into the classroom with a decent respect for the right of others to peace and quiet." And:

"Many students, as the result of organized school activities, are too tired to concentrate. Others are too excited to give attention."

Myers noted that there are too many basketball games on nights before class sessions, and too often school bands are kept out at night, for "good causes" which seem to justify anything.

We hope that some of the parents in Ohio who need Myers' advice about how to discipline their children will listen. And that they will see to it that their children listen when they say: Please sit down and be quiet for a little. If they can't get their children to obey that command it's time for active disciplinary action. If indeed it's not too late for such action.

A Farmer Speaks

From the New York Daily News

By Howard Werkheiser, 21, a swineherd of Kewanee, Illinois, reporting on a recent visit to the White House:

"I told [Secretary of Agriculture] Orville Freeman in President Kennedy's office—in a nice tone of voice; I didn't sass him or nothin'—the Government should try to get out of the farming picture in 10 or 15 years, slowly. The hog market has no price supports and they're doing fine, but the corn market has and is messed up."

How Self Help Pays Off

From the Houston Chronicle

The Malolla River in Oregon was crumbling big chunks of the farmers' land into its waters as it rounded an 1800-foot horseshoe bend.

The farmers went to the usual place for help.

Uncle Sam sent in the Corps of Army Engineers who studied the problem, said that it would cost $188,000 to stop the erosion, but that they didn't know how soon they could get around to it.

So the farmers rented a bulldozer and went to work. For $1500 they dug a new channel and solved the problem completely. Their paper work connected with a federally-done project probably would have cost them that much and more.

Depressed Areas

By Senator Norris Cotton

More than 50 Federal programs under 14 agencies are now channeling aid into depressed areas—highways, welfare assistance, community facilities, surplus foods, small business loans. In a separate bill I would gladly vote aid for retraining and relocating unemployed if they need and desire it, but to set up a new nest of Washington bureaucrats to decide what states and what communities get new industries—no.

Ninety years ago when men first began to talk about restraining private corporations, a Georgia Senator voiced a warning which could have been deliberately aimed at [the depressed areas] bill.

"There is a corporation we may all dread. That corporation is the Federal Government.

"From (its) aggression there can be no safety . . . Let us be sure we keep it always within its limits. If this great, ambitious, evergrowing corporation becomes oppressive, who shall check it? If it becomes wayward, who shall control it? If it becomes unjust, who shall trust it?

". . . I beseech you watch and guard with sleepless dread that corporation which can make all property and rights, all states and people, and all liberty and hope, its playthings in an hour and its victims forever."

I believe the States can best govern our home concerns. —*Thomas Jefferson*

There is not a single state in the United States where a foreign language teacher must know the foreign language he or she is teaching.
—Admiral Hyman Rickover

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Chester Bowles: Undersecretary of State

By Allan Ryskind

To read Chester Bowles is to become confused. Outside of a forthright plea for United States economic aid to each and every underdeveloped nation, his statements are a remarkable study in obscurity.

Try, for example, to unravel his enigmatic position toward recognizing Red China. In the April, 1960 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Bowles said: "We will not give formal recognition to the government in Peiping." Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this year he was asked if this was still his position. To which Bowles replied: "That is my view." Yet this would hardly begin to explain the position of the ex-Congressman from Connecticut on the subject of recognition.

Consider that in the very same *Foreign Affairs* article Bowles urges America to think of a "two China" policy, bring Red China into a disarmament agreement, "reopen communications," and promote "cultural exchanges" with the Red Chinese.

It is no secret that he has been behind the Administration's recent push for an exchange of "authentic" journalists with the Chinese Communists, although what oriental ouija board he would use to screen the spies from the reporters has not yet been divulged. But this, said Bowles, would only be the beginning. "Educators, politicians, businessmen—all the many Americans who would profit by a first hand understanding of the revolution . . . should be allowed access to the mainland by our authorities, with reciprocal privileges for the Chinese." The US, suggests Bowles, should even reconsider trading with Red China, a question which "deserves the most urgent attention of American policy makers." In short, Bowles seems to desire all the benefits that come with a formal exchange of Ambassadors without actually exchanging them.

But if it seems contradictory that Bowles on the one hand says he's against recognition, and then champions every policy that comes with it, these remarks seem clarity itself compared to the general smog that envelopes other statements.

Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this year, Bowles said he feared an "armed expansion" of Communist China into Southeast Asia, and that "we certainly cannot cope with [Red China] positively by appeasing it or knuckling under to it." Yet the same Chester Bowles who fears an "armed expansion" of the Red Chinese somehow doesn't feel we should give our Asian allies the military equipment necessary to stop Communist aggression. He feels it wasn't feasible to build an "effective conventional" army in Laos, that our time and money should have been spent on that country's "economic and social" problems, that we should "neutralize" Quemoy and Matsu, "reduce our military obligations in the [Formosa] area," refuse to "indulge in threats of atomic war," for this would only "further feed the fires of aggressive Chinese nationalism" (is he equating communism with Chinese nationalism?), and finally, as he says in *The Coming Political Breakthrough*, halt "military" aid to Asia, for this allows "its leaders to embark unnecessarily on excessive military programs that distract them from such essential tasks as growing rice." Consistency, it would appear, has never been the hobgoblin of the mind of Chester Bowles.

Bowles does, however, make a case for building up America's armed strength "not only to restore our declining balance of nuclear weapons, but at the same time we must modernize and reinvigorate our conventional armed forces." There is, indeed, the definite implication after further study that *one* Chester Bowles, at least, thinks the US should act as the military umbrella for all underdeveloped nations. Like Sir Galahad, the US would promise to protect these nations so they, presumably, could concentrate on growing rice. Yet even here, Bowles indulges in a fuzziness beyond comprehension. For the Bowles who is for improving our "declining balance" of nuclear weapons, at the same time favors the moratorium on underground nuclear tests which are the single most important element in improving nuclear weapons. And it seems the height of folly to think an increase in American *conventional* armed forces—without an increase in our Asian allies' conventional forces which Bowles discourages—can hope to halt the hordes of Chinese in military harness.

The crux of Bowles' thinking operates on an all important assumption shared, it seems, by every single major foreign policy appointment by President Kennedy, viz: that there is a deep division between Russia and Red China which the US should encourage. In his January interrogation before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Bowles said the Russians and the Red Chinese were working at "cross purposes." In the "Coming Political Breakthrough," Bowles claims the Soviets are afraid of possible Chinese "domination" and says they fear China will increase her power by taking over "lush lands to the south."

So joyous, in fact, is Bowles about contemplating a supposed split between Moscow and Peiping, that he ecstatically waxes: ". . . is it too much to hope that the sheer magnitude of the war danger in Southeast Asia may gradually bring a degree of at least tacit cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in that area?" Despite our "profound differences in ideology," Bowles hopes we can come to terms with the Soviet Union to prevent Red China from expanding! But Bowles not only feels we should encourage a Moscow-Peiping split, but that we should formulate a policy whereby we can split Red Chinese from Red Chinese. We should fashion a policy, said Bowles before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, so "forces will grow up within China that will be constructive and less arrogant and less dangerous, less expansionist." In short, we should not try overturning communism; we must not even "contain" it, we must promote a communism that is *"less expansionist."* How much less expansionist, Bowles did not reveal. That's his little secret.

That Chester Bowles has the upper hand in shaping Asian policy is not yet known. But if he ever does, it might be wise for all of us to start learning a little mandarin.

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HUMAN EVENTS
-- What YOU Can Do --

Time *magazine's comment about the Freeman-Kennedy farm plan: In effect, the drafting of farm legislation would be lifted from Congress and given to particular farmers who would benefit from it—an approach not so very different from letting smugglers write the customs regulations.*

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Spider Web Over the Farm Areas

THERE IS A DELICATE irony in the fact that President Kennedy sent his new farm program to Congress between his message on Latin American aid and his proposals for general reorganization of foreign aid. Our government is planning to use foreign aid as a lever to induce other countries to adopt our social reforms, but nowhere have we more evidence of the fallacies of planning and central direction than in nearly 30 years of planned agriculture here at home.

The farm message proposes some radical advances along the road to collectivized agriculture. The Secretary of Agriculture is to be given greater power over production and marketing. The authority to decide on commodity programs is to be transferred from Congress to the Executive Branch, by way of organized groups of farmers for each commodity. The government is to increase its activities in determining consumer food needs and distributing food at home for school lunches and needy families. Two billion more is to be authorized to give away food and fibers abroad under the "Food for Peace" program. On March 15th the President also requested a deficiency appropriation of almost $4 billion for Commodity Credit Corporation which buys "surplus" farm products and "sells" the products that are given away under P. L. 480.

The new farm program, if enacted, will be expensive. But that is not the most objectionable feature.

Up to now, wheat, cotton and feed grains programs were enacted by Congress with all the safeguards thrown about the work of the legislative branch. Farmers sometimes were asked to vote on whether to accept or reject combinations of price support and crop reduction. But the "package" proposals were worked out in Congress. The new Administration recommends that the legislative task of working out the price-production-marketing formula be transferred ostensibly to the farmers engaged in raising each commodity. Their decisions will be submitted to Congress. Either House could veto any commodity plan within 60 days.

We will pass over the chaos which will ensue when each farm commodity tries to work out its program of production, price and marketing controls.

Those who remember the frantic days of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration will certainly recall how every time a large crop was disposed of, 27 new commodities were dislocated because farmers put their idle land into unregulated crops. Asparagus production, for example, increased something like 1000 per cent when corn land was cut back.

Apparently crops not now under control can be brought in by vote of the farmers eligible to vote. The phrase in the President's message says: "The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 should be amended to permit supply adjustments through marketing quotas for *any* agricultural commodity for which quotas might be effective in achieving *our* goals." [The italics are ours.] Are meat producers going to find themselves blanketed in?

We ask if meat is included because we have learned to distrust grants of power which cover "any" commodity or any objective not precisely described. We ask particularly because the Kennedy program seems to echo so hauntingly the infamous Brannan Plan.

The Brannan Plan was the ultimate achievement of controls in the Roosevelt-Truman era, and would have encased American farming as a whole in a governmental strait jacket.

The Kennedy message asks for "a wide range of tools" to boost farm income. That is planners' language for more controls—wide use of marketing orders, marketing quotas for more commodities, also "compensatory payments as well as commodity loans, commodity purchases, diversion programs, incentive payments, and export payments, as circumstances may require."

In addition there are to be more low cost loans, loans for farm improvements, "to be secured either by mortgages or by other acceptable forms of security," government aid in building storage facilities and encouragement of "cooperatives." To this must be added the great increase of government purchasing of farm products for distribution at home and abroad. There is also to be money for farmers' wood lots, and for soil conservation.

These are the carrots which will be dangled before the farmers, but the new plan for formulation of farm aid programs by farmer groups is the goal. This is pure and simple collectivism of American agriculture from one end of the country to the other.

THE PLAN for farmer "advisory committees" is introduced neatly. The message says, "A generation ago, Congress enacted the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act to place in the Executive Branch the authority for a tariff-by-tariff approach that could be more effectively and equitably handled there instead of in the halls of Congress." Mean and suspicious people warned Congress "a generation ago" that any surrender of its legislative powers and duties to the Executive Branch would be the foot in the door. They were laughed out of court.

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The message continues: "The Reorganization Act similarly shifted the initiative in that complex field to the Executive Branch." Congress is responsible for it all. They cannot really handle "complex" problems, so the Executive Branch will do it for them. Now the message continues, "Agriculture needs a commodity-by-commodity approach, fitting each program to the pertinent problems, initiated by the Secretary of Agriculture, under Presidential direction, subject to the approval of the farmers voting in referenda and to final review by the Congress."

This sentence is invaluable because it clearly admits that each farm program is to be made by the Executive Branch, not by the farmers. Submission to them will be as *pro-forma* as submission to Congress. This is simply transfer of the legislative power from Congress to the Executive Branch. It is clearly unconstitutional, in any historical use of the word. But we have abandoned the historic meaning of the word, so that need not detain us.

If the making of the commodity programs is to be done by the Executive Branch, why the farmer advisory groups? The answer is collectivization. What chance will the individual farmer have?

How will the farmers debate and discuss and arrive at a decision? The answer is the Farmers' Union.

Because of the declining farm population, farmers have gradually been losing the decisive political power they once had. The Farmers' Union has been moving into the political vacuum by trading the farm vote that it controls to other militant left-wing organizations such as the AFL-CIO and the Americans for Democratic Action—all three having as a goal a socialistically planned state. Farmers' Union-controlled Congressmen vote for labor union objectives. Labor-controlled Congressmen support farm programs despite the fact that they mean higher food and clothing prices for their members.

Today, we are back at the point where the Truman planners left off, except that the supporting left-wing pressure groups are infinitely more powerful. The farm advisory committees constituted a powerful political "machine" in the farm areas, until Harry Hopkins moved Henry Wallace to the innocuous desuetude of the Vice-Presidency. The farmer advisory committees will be a powerful political machine again. They will be "steered" in the way they should go by Orville Freeman and George McGovern in the Executive Branch, and their Farmers' Union allies.

If the farmers of this country are once again encased in the collectivist harness, who will be free?

IF YOU come from a farm area, write your Senators and Representative saying American farmers do not want controls or subsidies which will be a millstone round the necks of their children and grandchildren.

If you come from a non-farm area, tell your Representative that the farm bill is the concern of all the people and that subsidies to agriculture, which wipe out the freedom of our farm families, affect all America.

The National Interest

From the Washington Daily News

IMAGINE what sort of a Government-aid program U. S. lead and zinc mine operators would come up with if asked to evolve one satisfactory to two-thirds of them. This, under the guidance of a prejudiced-in-their-favor Cabinet officer.

Same for fur breeders, railroaders, shippers, distressed manufacturers and so on.

Imagine how much the Federal minimum wage would go up if those now at the minimum were asked—acting in consultation with a friendly Secretary of Labor—to come up with a satisfactory-to-them new minimum and approve it by a two-thirds vote.

This sort of thing, preposterous as it may seem, is what President Kennedy is proposing in his new farm program. He would have Congress delegate to the Agriculture Department and farmers the power to write farm programs.

Committees of farmers would be set up commodity by commodity and, acting with the Secretary of Agriculture, they would evolve new programs, with a two-thirds majority vote of the farmers affected being necessary for approval. Unless either house of Congress rejected a program by majority vote within 60 days, it would go into effect. We suspect that once two-thirds of the growers affected approved, a politically-minded Congress would be most reluctant to veto a program.

By this approach, President Kennedy is seeking to remove the farm problem from the halls of Congress where through log-rolling and conflicts among commodity groups the results admittedly over the years have been disastrous.

But Congress at least reflects the national interest and the consumers are represented, though not as vigorously as they should be. Except for the influence of the President himself over his Secretary of Agriculture, we can see nothing in the proposed new setup to indicate that much attention would be paid to the over-all national interest (as reflected in total costs) or to the interests of the consumers. Certainly the Secretary of Agriculture, as the top Government advocate of the farmers, cannot be depended on to be vigilant on these all-important matters.

The farm mess is crying for a solution, but the Kennedy program does not point the way out. In fact, it threatens to lead to greater regimentation of American agriculture, higher costs to consumers and greater loads upon the taxpayers.

Congress should pitch it into the wastebasket.

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No Sino-Soviet Split

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

ARRIVAL in Peiping of a Soviet delegation to discuss trade and loans has dashed cold water on the belief that the Russians and Chinese Communists are near a breaking point.

The idea that the two nations have severe ideological differences has been put forward by many "experts" in this country and abroad. One, British Prime Minister Macmillan, has said that the future will find the West and the Soviet Union joining hands to meet a common enemy, Red China.

Reports from behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains indicate this is wishful thinking. Early in February a Soviet Mission arrived in Communist China to map plans for expanded trade between the two nations and to arrange for new grants for the Chinese.

The Soviet group was led by Pavel N. Kumykin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and I. V. Arkhipov, Deputy Chairman of the State Committee on Foreign Economic Relations.

The Soviets were met at the Peiping airport by top-ranking Chinese leaders. Foreign Minister Chen Yi made a major speech in which he paid glowing tribute to the Soviet aid and voiced his opinion that the ties between the two nations were stronger than ever.

Marshal Chen declared the past Soviet aid "has played an important role toward consolidating the victory of the Chinese Revolution, restoring our national economy and laying an industrial foundation for building socialism."

There are other indications that Sino-Soviet relations are in fine shape. They include:

• The visit to Red China of a nine member "friendship delegation" from Moscow. The group was led by F. V. Konstantinov, alternate member of the Communist Party's Central Committee and Editor-in-Chief of the *Communist*, theoretical and political journal of the party's Central Committee.

Intelligence agencies report a banquet for the Soviet visitors was held in Peiping on the night of February 8. Wu Yu-chang, Vice President of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, spoke on the ties that bind Moscow and Peiping:

"The Sino-Soviet alliance has become a tremendous force inspiring the peoples of the two countries in their common struggle and has exercised a profound influence on the history of man."

Wu Yu-chang went on to declare the solidarity between the Soviet and Chinese Reds "as firm as rock and as hard as iron and steel. Our two peoples support each other in the common struggle against enemies and bear great responsibility in the sacred cause of the complete emancipation of mankind."

Konstantinov seconded the statements of his Chinese colleague, and speaking as representative of the

Russian government, pledged everlasting "solidarity" between the two nations.

• The inking of a Sino-Soviet cultural exchange pact in Peiping on February 4. Soviet Ambassador S. V. Chervonenko and Chinese authorities signed an extensive, all-encompassing exchange agreement. The two nations will exchange scientists, architects, and journalists, as well as students, teachers, and entertainers.

• The Soviet and Chinese Press. The Party-controlled press in both countries has devoted much space to praise of the Sino-Soviet alliance. Radio Moscow, in fact, broadcasts regularly to China of the "friendship, equality, and proletarian internationalism that has marked relations between the countries for the past eleven years."

Why Democracies Fail

A Democracy cannot exist as a permanent form of Government. It can only exist until the voters discover they can vote themselves largess out of the public treasury. From that moment on the majority always votes for the candidate promising the most benefits from the public treasury with the result that Democracy always collapses over a loose fiscal policy, always to be followed by a Dictatorship and then a Monarchy.

(Written by Professor Alexander Fraser Tytler, nearly two centuries ago while our thirteen original states were still colonies of Great Britain. At the time he was writing of the decline and fall of the Athenian Republic over two thousand years before.)

—Reprinted from the *Freeman* Magazine

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'Five Weeks For $1—You Can't Go Wrong!'

This is the sales phrase used in securing five-week trial subscriptions to HUMAN EVENTS by Bill Burtness, a Portland, Oregon, insurance man. He fervently believes we must strengthen conservative thought and opinion, so he deliberately brings HUMAN EVENTS into his daily personal and business conversations.

Whatever the topic of current events may be, he adds that he has recently read an interesting report on the subject in HUMAN EVENTS. He then asks his listener if he is familiar with the publication, explaining that it is a weekly newsletter from Washington which provides the reader with a good insight into the affairs of our National Government, and a news commentary not found in most newspapers. At this point he displays his current envelope of HUMAN EVENTS, and remarks, "You owe it to yourself to try it . . . *FIVE WEEKS FOR $1—YOU CAN'T GO WRONG!* Give me just one dollar, and I'll be happy to order your trial subscription for you. After reading these five issues, I am sure that you will find it so informative that you will want to continue receiving it."

Bill tells us that just about all of these five-week subscribers do continue their subscriptions, and furthermore, they thank him for introducing them to HUMAN EVENTS.

Scores of subscribers in the Pacific Northwest will smile gratefully when they read this story. It tells how they became acquainted with HUMAN EVENTS. Maybe YOU would like to get into the habit of using these stirring words:

"FIVE WEEKS for $1—You can't go wrong!"

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